

THE SASAK PEOPLE OF LOMBOK: Indigenous Communities at The Crossroads of Globalization

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on changes that have taken place among Lombok's indigenous communities, including Sasak Bayan, Sasak Sade, and Sasak Ende. This study found that in the context of thick globalization where information technology is the driving force, the indigenous communities are no longer as the objects of the global cultural market. Instead, they are given the freedom to choose and sort out values that they consider good and appropriate with their needs. In addition, they also exercise the freedom of expression. However, the problem lies in the fact that their choices and ways of expressions are quite often violating old loyalties they have agreed. The communities of Sasak Bayan, Sasak Sade and Sasak Ende provide important information on how indigenous communities respond creatively to globalization based on their needs.

Keywords: Thick globalization; indigenous communities; global culture.

INTRODUCTION

Many people argued that globalization puts the highest threat to indigenous communities, which could be necessarily right or wrong. Hilmar Farid, the Director General of Indonesian Culture, said that Indonesia's traditional cultures keep disappearing or even going extinct year after year (Saldy, 2018). For example, in 2018 there are at least 14 Indonesia's local languages that have been fading or vanishing (Rosmanuddin, 2018). However, there is also a positive trend that many indigenous communities are no longer afraid to show their existence in this global era, such as Badui in West Java, Kajang in Sulawesi, and so on. It is obvious that globalization is a threat and an opportunity at the same time (Salehudin, 2018: 1-28).

Globalization provides individuals with the freedom to put aside or adopt certain values according to their needs and express them autonomously in which cases old loyalties are put at risk. In this context, globalization has dramatically transformed people all around the world (Keohane, and Nye, 2000; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004: 587). It has affected the levels of welfare, social

interaction, political dynamics, religious expressions, as well as ways of eating, dressing and enjoying life. It can be said that globalization has an influence on almost all aspects of people's lives, including their identity (Wolf, 2007: xi; Firmansah, 2007: 10; Standing, 2011)

Unlike the popular opinion, social identity is not just being threatened, but it also finds its vitality to exist in a different way (Sinaga, 2004: 5). After being created, identity will not immediately be displaced by the presence of new identities promoted by globalization. However, it will challenge and refuse any threat against it. Therefore, in its search a society is no longer able to formulate the essence without an identity, because the problem of identity in principle resulted from a contestation process rather than just a fixation. The issue of identity is self-representation in the face of other powerful party (Sinaga, 2004: 5).

Studies on identity have been abundantly available. For example, Muhammad Johan Nasrul Huda (2009) wrote on "Imajinasi Identitas Sosial Komunitas Reog Ponorogo," which is quite successful in recording the anxieties among the local community, i.e. the Reog Ponorogo, in facing global cultural challenges. His research provides information on how the local community has been negotiating and revitalizing their various aspects of life in order to survive in the global culture. Ni Putu Suwardani (2015) wrote an article entitled "Pewarisan Nilai-nilai Kearifan Lokal untuk Memproteksi Masyarakat Bali dari Dampak Negatif Globalisasi" Suwardani explained the importance of inheriting the local values or wisdom for the Balinese people in dealing with the negative impacts of social change caused by globalization. Globalization has brought significant changes to Balinese society, both at the surface (i.e. attitudes and behavior patterns) and deep (i.e. value systems, views of life, philosophy and belief) structures.

A. Safril Mubah (2011) discusses his concern about the penetration of global culture on identity in the form of cultural homogenisation. It does not mean that the cultural groups are passive or silent to the global penetration. Agus Maladi Irianto (2016) explains the significance of commodification in addressing globalization. Last yet importantly, Salehudin (2018) examines how the community of three mosques "revitalized" their identity in order to live on and continue to grow amid the global culture. In short, global culture is a threat on one side and is an opportunity on the other. However, this work attempts to examine two important questions: how the narratives of changes in Sasak civilization are manifested in three communities, i.e. Sasak Bayan, Sasak Ende, and Sasak Sade and how these three indigenous communities respond to the penetration of global culture. The answers to these questions

will give valuable information about how the indigenous communities deal with globalization.

LOMBOK ISLAND: THE CHANGING SPACE OF SASAK CULTURE

The Sasak tribe is native to the island of Lombok, and constitutes the ethnic majority on the island, which is more than 90% of the total population in Lombok. The Sasak people are spreading in almost all of the Lombok mainland, especially in rural areas. On the other hand, the migrants are usually living in certain areas, such as the Balinese¹ in West Lombok and Central Lombok. The migrants from the Sumbawa island are in general situated in East Lombok, while the Arabs are settled in Ampenan. In the history of Lombok's modern civilization, Ampenan region plays a strategic role. The history of Lombok started from this region since the 1800s. In Sasak language, Ampenan means "*amben*" or a place to stay. As the name implies, Ampenan is an area that the Dutch developed into a port to challenge the dominance of the kingdoms in Bali. Like a port city in general, since its opening Ampenan has been inhabited by various ethnic groups, such as Arabs, Malays, Bugises, and Chinese (Tahir, 2012: 35-76).

Geographically, Lombok Island, which is relatively small, holds a strategic position. Apart from being a center for the growth and development of the Sasak Ethnicity, Lombok Island, which is administratively part of the Province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), is situated east of Bali and west of Sumbawa Island. In the west, Lombok Strait stretches which separates it from Bali Island, while Alas Strait is bordered to the east by Sumbawa. In the northern part of Lombok, there lies Java Sea and Indian Ocean in the south. During the Selaparang kingdom, Lombok Island was called Selapang Gumi (Tahir, 2012: 36).

The number of inhabitants in Lombok Island is around 3,473,247 peoples, spreading unevenly in four districts and one city, or more than 70% of the total population of the Province of West Nusa Tenggara, which amounts to 4,955,575 people. Administratively, Lombok is the center of governance of West Nusa Tenggara. This island has four districts and one city, namely West Lombok District (KLB), North Lombok District (KLU), Central Lombok District, East Lombok District, and Mataram City.¹

In term of religious affiliation, the majority of the Lombok people are Muslims. According to the data from the BPS of the Province of West Nusa Tenggara in 2016, Islam is adopted by most of the population (around 93%), followed by

¹ For more detail please visit <https://lombokutarakab.go.id>.

Hindus (5.5%), and Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, and Confucianism share the rest. In general, the migrants are adhering to religion other than Islam, such as Balinese are mostly Hindus and the rest are Christians and Catholics. As Islam is practiced by almost all Sasak ethnics in Lombok, there appears a slogan that “being a Sasak means being a Muslim.” In the context of cultural fusion and diffusion, the slogan wants to tell us how close the relation between the Sasak-ness and Islam is. Furthermore, seen from the spread of religion, the more homogeneous Sasak people in an area are, the more Muslims will be, such as in Central Lombok District and North Lombok District where above 99% of the total population are Muslims.²

Lombok is also known as the city of thousand mosques, showing a great deal number of mosque, both large and small, in the island.³ When I was exploring Lombok Island in September and October, or about a month after the devastating earthquake in Lombok, especially in North, West and East Lombok, I was impressed with the grandeur and number of mosques, even though many of them have been collapsed or ruined. On the way from the Lombok International Airport (LIA) in Central Lombok to North Lombok where the Bayan Indeginous Village is located, it is quite easy to find mosques, which are severely damaged and, therefore, are hardly used for worship. In the center of North Lombok, for example, I stopped by at a mosque that stands strong even though some parts of its walls are destroyed. I had to restrain my desire to pray there because of its worrying condition: the pillars are broken or shifted so that even a slight shock would make them collapse.

It is quite interesting and challenging to see how Islam is practiced by the Sasak tribe as the majority people of the Lombok Island. It is not only because Islam is accepted as an “official” religion of the Sasak people, but it also presents a distinctive nature and characteristics of Islam. Sasak Islam has its own uniqueness that is built on the cosmology of the Sasak people. The natural conditions that depend heavily on agriculture and are dressed in the narratives of Mount Rinjani, directly or indirectly contributed to the distinctive manifestation of Sasak Islam or the commonly known as Islam Wetu Telu. However, *Islam Wetu Telu* has been now under the pressure of or conversion into *Islam Wetu Lima* due to the massive propagation (*dakwah*) of Islamic group movement who wants to purify *Islam Wetu Telu* for its animist elements and mixture with other local practices (Budiwanti, 2000: 1-4).

Anyone who is visiting Lombok Island can enjoy Sasak civilization, especially when entering traditional villages and houses which look exotic but ‘lag far

² Visit <https://ntb.bps.go.id> for further detail.

³ See www.republika.co.id.

behind' from the modern standards of this country. In the city of Mataram or on the beaches of West Lombok and East Lombok where fundamental changes are undertaking as exemplified by the presence of hotels, we will see Sasak people who are different from those living in villages at the foot of Mount Rinjani or staying comfortably in houses in indigenous villages that look exotic in the eyes of tourists. The Sasak people and their culture are mysterious portraits of a civilization: it is easy to enjoy but quite difficult to understand them. The discourse about Sasak culture is always intertwined causing a prolonged complexity that is hard to decompose.

There is an assumption that the Sasak culture was born from a contracted uterus. There are groups who want to ensure that Sasak culture has exotic but bordered doors and edges. However, this opinion goes against the fact that there is similarity between cultures, leading to ambiguity of interpretation. Two major narratives are useful to understand the Sasak people. The first is legend-based, which is still alive and believed by the Sasak people, and the second is empirical evidence for the existence of Sasak people. The first narrative is relied on legend, which is, of course, cannot be verified scientifically. However, for a society that is not familiar with writing, a legend provides an authentic evidence of the community's records on the events that are taking place. Through a legend, people want to share an event that they experienced, along the process of which they, of course, use their knowledge and it is the task of scientists to uncover it. The second narrative is the migration. Migration is a natural phenomenon as people are moving from one place to another due to various reasons. For example, after being defeated, the paramilitary army of Pangeran Diponegoro spread into various regions, such as Dieng plateau, Wonosobo, and Central Java (Salahudin, 2018). The same case applies also to the residents of Lombok. A careful study of the current cultural elements, such as language and writing, in Lombok showed that the people of Lombok have similarities with the Balinese, Javanese (especially during the era of Majapahit), and the Madurese as well as others. This cultural style became later a material base to explain the origins of the people of Lombok by using a perspective of migration (Tahir, 2012: 41).

Lombok is a portrait of a mosaic, which consists of colorful cultures and values among the communities. This happens partly because in the past Lombok was a field of struggle for dominance between various cultures and values which will be explained later (Tahir, 2012: 42). The cultural similarities between Java, Madura, Makassar, Bali, and Lombok resulted from the power expansion between successive kingdoms and the regional proximity that allows easy migration among the people and, therefore, cultural acculturation among them.

GLOBALIZATION WITHIN THREE VILLAGES OF THE SASAK

1. Indigenous Village of Bayan: The World Stops at the Ancient Mosque

The sun had passed overhead when I arrived in front of the entrance to the complex of Bayan Ancient Mosque. When I saw the Bayan Ancient Mosque from a distance, fatigue and emotion due to the journey from Central Lombok to the Traditional Village of Bayan, North Lombok, was completely paid off. I noticed debris from destruction of buildings outside the area (fence) of the ancient mosque. It seemed that they want to inform me that an extraordinary event had occurred in the area. On the trip from West Lombok to North Lombok, I saw most of buildings were destroyed or collapsed, making it not possible to stay inside. The Bayan Ancient Mosque is one of the last strongholds of the Sasak civilization, religiously known as *Islam Wetu Telu*. The mosque is a manifestation of the values and ethos that are lived, practiced, and passed on by the community. Through this mosque, we will figure out how the Sasak people perceive and respond to globalization, which is unstoppable. Therefore, discussion about the Bayat Indigenous Village will be centered on the presence of this mosque.

The Ancient Bayan Mosque is a clear evidence for the historical development of Islam among the Sasak people in Lombok. Situated on a hill and surrounded by several cupola tombs of the Islamic transmitters, it is estimated that the mosque had been built hundreds of years ago by a Muslim preacher (*muballigh*). However, it has not been clear yet who was the founder of the mosque and in what date. Adopting a traditional architecture typical of the Lombok Island, this mosque symbolized the ethos among the Sasak Muslims and recorded their history, tradition and spirituality.



The current condition of the Bayan Ancient Mosque, standing in grandeur despite the devastating earthquake that hit Lombok several times

(Private document).

The architecture of the ancient mosque is similar to that of traditional houses in the Bayan community, which does not look like a mosque in general. Those who visited Bayan for the first time would not likely think that the building was a very important mosque in the history of the Islamization of the Sasak people (Matindas, 2018).

There are special rules regarding who may or may not enter the ancient mosque, including what kind of clothes that they have to wear. The clothes worn by the Muslim clerics and the priests of the Bayan Ancient Mosque also have meanings, such as a white color refers to holiness and a red long cloth (*dodot*) to leadership; the dress is equipped *sapuq* or *bongot* (headband) (Matindas, 2018). In addition, the rules also said that anyone who enters the area of the ancient mosque should dress in a way that accords the custom.



The nuance inside the Ancient Bayan Mosque: a ground floor, a hanging Bedug, a simple pulpit, and a place for a prayer leader (imam).

(Private document)

It is interesting to discuss the rules at the Ancient Bayan Mosque because they relate to how the indigenous people of Sasak Bayan respond to globalization. The Sasak people believed that the devastating earthquake, hitting Lombok mid-July-August 2018, was divine punishment for violation of the rules regarding the ancient mosques. The earthquake was warning from God to the Bayan people for making the Ancient Mosque as a tourist object. Indeed, it was not about the tourist attraction, rather it is more about the fact that tourism at the ancient mosque has caused violations against the customary laws at least in three forms. The first is related to the construction of buildings around the complex of Bayan Ancient Mosque. In order to promote its tourism agenda, the local government built several supporting structures, including a retribution center (a guest book and donation), toilets, and rest areas. The

second concerns on how the visitors should dress. The tradition outlines that the visitors should wear Sasak traditional clothing when entering the mosque. When it becomes a tourist attraction, it turned out that many visitors violated the dressing rules, such as wearing short skirts or pants, and so on. The third is regarding the women who come inside the Bayan ancient mosque. There is a certain belief in Bayan that the mosque is a restricted area for women. As a tourist object, the mosque is now 'open' for any gender to visit. Seemingly, it is also the reason why the elders, who were also my informants, were reluctant to take me to visit the Ancient Bayan Mosque. I visited the Bayan Ancient Mosque with my research assistant, and then I met my informants.

Since the beginning, there had been disagreement among the people, especially the elders, in responding to government policies to declare the ancient mosque as one of the leading tourist attractions in the region. Some agreed with policy, saying that the *adat* has changed and, therefore, it is necessary to take the benefit of the ancient mosque as a pillar of community welfare. This group criticized the other opposing fellows for being old-fashioned. On the other side, some others considered that making the ancient mosque as a tourist attraction would alter its sanctity, while accusing the other fellows of being dazzled by money. Despite the pro and cons, the local government decided to continue its plans by building supporting facilities in the mosque complex, such as toilets and rest areas for visitors. When I visited the Ancient Mosque in mid-September 2018, the "supporting" buildings around the complex have been gone. The buildings were all destroyed during the earthquake, but strangely, the Bayan Ancient Mosque itself could sustain from the damages. Knowing their tourism supporting buildings collapsed, the indigenous people of Sasak immediately cleaned up the debris and piled them outside the mosque compound fence. We may assume that this is a mere coincidence. This phenomenon, nevertheless, showed that making the ancient mosque a tourism object was indeed a mistake. For the people of Lombok, the earthquake that struck the island in the middle of July-August 2019 was not a mere disaster, but it is also a warning because of misconducts that polluted the sanctity of the Bayan Ancient Mosque. The narratives on the earthquake as circulated by the Sasak indigenous people could serve as a foothold in restoring the sanctity of the Bayan Ancient Mosque. In other words, the narratives on the earthquakes are useful for the indigenous peoples to purify their ancestral lands from the pollution of globalization in the form of tourism activities.

2. *Sasak Ende: Change or Resist*

"Welcome to Sasak Ende Village," greets any visitors who enter the gate of

Sasak Ende village. After passing through the gate, visitors will be welcomed by a beautiful, luxurious, tiled floor small mosque (*musholla*). After that, they will pass a “voluntary retribution” post that stands between Sasak Ende village and the outside world. Visitors will be asked to fill out the guest book and “pay” the entrance fee on a voluntary basis. That day, a girl of Senior High School wearing a veil was taking care of the guest book.

The Traditional Village of Sasak Ende is one of the most traditional villages that still exist in Lombok. The inhabitants carry out their daily activities while strongly adhering to the traditions passed on by their ancestors. In Sasak Ende there are 35 houses and around 135 people. In 2004, the village gained electricity on a government assistance scheme. Since electricity was introduced, the people’s lifestyle has somewhat changed. For example, one or two residents already have a TV and some young people have gadgets. The interest in educational world has also increased. When this research was conducted, some young women were studying in high school, and some were attending colleges.

All the houses were covered with weeds and the floor was made of clay mixed with buffalo dung. The roof of the house is made tilted and low (only about 1.50 m) so that guests who visit the house should bow as a tribute to the owner of the house. Inside the house, there is only one room with a supporting pillar in the middle with no windows. Entering the door, a visitor will find a seemingly large room with an ambient or sleeping place for the husband on the right side, and for the wife on the left side. There are three steps to enter the inner courtyard, a cooking area on the left side, a daughter’s bed in the middle, and a birthing chamber on the right side. The birthing chamber is sometimes used as a bed by the daughter. Boys usually sleep in the living room or in a *baruga*. The floor of the house is made of a dried mixture of buffalo dung, clay, and straw ash. They clean the floor two or three times a week using cow dung. It turns out that the use of new buffalo dung for cleaning leave no strong smells. They argued that using buffalo dung would remove moisture from the floor. At the front of the house, there is also usually a loom. Weaving skill is one indicator that a Sasak girl is ready to get married, regardless they are still in their teens.

The indigenous people of Ende is very well known with the tradition of elopement (*kawin lari*), a marriage custom in which a men of the Sasak tribe is escaping her women. Marriage is an important socio-cultural event that everyone should undergo. Marriage is a basic intermediary in any community. It is also an institutionalized relationship between a man and a woman or a man and several women, or a woman and several men, being formalized

by customs, law, culture and religion procedures in a given community. The traditional marriage of Sasak Ende is often referred to as *merarik* (Zuhdi, Tt: 49). Etimologically, the term *merarik* means “running”, while *merari'an* refers to *melai'an*, “running away.” Elopement is a traditional marriage system that has been still practiced in Lombok. The term is derived from a Sasak word “*berarik*” which means ‘to run’ and it has two meanings: running in the literal sense of the word or fleeing someone’s daughter.

The world is changing in which modernization and globalization constitute as the driving forces. Likewise, the culture of Sasak Ende, directly or indirectly, has been also under the pressure of globalization. Values that they inherited from their ancestors have been now redefined. In the process of redefinition, these ancestral cultural values could be possibly shifting, fading, or losing their true meanings. This is because the influence of the changing educational orientation, information through television and social medias, and exchange of information through tourism activities. This is exactly what happens to the tradition of *Peresean*, a performance of courage and agility among the Sasak people. The practice and orientation of the *peresean* performance has now shifted from a tradition into a mere spectacle and competition. From a theory of social and cultural change, the shifted or changed orientation in *peresean* is part of cultural change.

Similarly, the shift in economic orientation from farmers to tourists has also stirred changes in the adoption of values by the community. The rise of tourism affected particularly the young people. Many of them are now reluctant to become farmers for working in tourism is more promising to them. Technology brought the biggest changes in almost all aspects of people’s lives, including the Sade people. People become now more attracted and attached to high-tech items while forgetting what they really need in their lives. Technology has also altered the mindset of many people, especially with the introduction of radio, television and gadgets. Technology seems to be a window for the people of Sasak Ende to look at the world and update their knowledge. Of course, those who are able to utilize and/or being influenced by technology are those who have adequate provision, such as skills in Indonesian language and financial capability to posses such technology. In the context of Sasak Ende, technology becomes a contraction between the elders who tend to resist the changes and the youngsters who are more aggressive in adopting modern lifestyles.

3. Sasak Sade: Dilemma of a Tourism Village

Not far from the Village of Sasak Ende, heading towards Kuta Mandalika Beach in Lombok, there is an oldest traditional village known as Sasak Sade village.

Sade is a hamlet located in Rembitan Village, Pujut Sub-District, Central Lombok District, West Nusa Tenggara Province. Sade is a tourist village the atmosphere of which is felt as soon as a visitor sets his or her foot in front of the entrance. The tour guides will readily approach individuals or groups who are stepping closer to the area of Sade Traditional Village. In my case, a friendly guide wearing a typical clothe with no footwear was approaching me. He insisted that it has been the rule for a visitor to be accompanied with a local guide while entering the Sade village. The service fees for the guide are voluntarily. This phenomenon is interesting to me, because what is presented in front of me is the presentation of tourism on indigenous villages. In other words, what is happening is commodification of the customary village.

Entering the gate, I had to stop at a small post where retribution is collected. There is no specific rate, nor is there a rule that “forces” me to pay. I found only a notice to fill in the guest book in which there is a column for how much money that I donated for retribution. Once again, there is no rule on how much money that I have to pay for retribution. However, the presence of a waiter inevitably encouraged me to fill it. At a glance, I noticed that the nominal as written in the guest book varied, starting from Rp. 5,000 to Rp. 50,000.



*The Entrance of the Sade Traditional Village and the Retribution Post
(Personal Document)*

After filling out the guest book and “paying” the retribution fee, I was asked to follow my guide to Balai Tani, which is located at the left side of the retribution post. After sitting down, the guide stood in front of visitors and

began to introduce himself. He explained some basic information about the traditional village of Sade, such as the name of the building we are in, the number of houses and the inhabitants, the history of the Sade Village, the *Merarik* tradition.⁴; he concluded by taking us around the Sade Village area. Interestingly, my observations and interviews with several guides on different visits showed that there is a similar pattern between each guide: greeting the guests to use their services, inviting them to fill in the guest book and pay the voluntary retribution, introducing and giving general information about the Sade traditional village, the number of traditional houses, population, and the route they are taking the guests around the traditional village complex. When we are going around the Sade complex, whether by chance or not, the route and the traditional houses we are entering are always the same, giving an impression that all are set in this way.

From the same narratives conveyed by the guides, it is clear that the Sade Traditional Village becomes a sort of stage purposively designed so that it looks beautiful and exotic. It looks as if what appears is necessarily true with no question needed. However, positioning the Sasak Traditional Village as a cultural site, anyone will realize and understand that what appears is not necessarily the truth. Some may be true, but some may be also only a mere stage of tourism. Again, Sade is a traditional village because of which it should not change to preserve the impression of being the oldest traditional village. There are some interesting facts that if examined further there would be only regret and sadness. *Firstly*, the education level of the Sade community is very low. The average of the young aged guides graduated only from elementary and junior high schools, and many of them even did not finish their elementary schools, such as the two tour guides whom I interviewed. In carrying out their professions, they look like an installed computer, who will automatically convey the memorized materials by only pressing the 'play button'. This was apparent from the fact that they looked having difficulty in answering all the questions that I asked. It could be because the questions are not contained in 'the installed materials'. It is even more unfortunate that most of Sade's women are having lower education; none of them have ever studied in high schools and some even did not finish their elementary schools. Women are not permitted to attend high school education because of long distance that they are feared of getting home in pregnancy. A lower level of education will obviously only produce unspecial generation.

⁴ The *Merarik* tradition literally means doing marriage by running away. In short, it means that the man asks the woman to silently run away from her family following him to stay in his house. The representatives of the man then the following day go to her house to inform her family that the woman has already been at the man's house. Discussion to have the wedding then takes place when the two sides of the bride and groom meet.

Secondly, woman in Sade village are married in an earlier age and they usually “must” have minimum four children. One of my informants was a 14 years-old married woman. When the interview was conducted, the woman is breastfeeding her child. In Sade, there is no minimum age for women to marry. A women with a weaving skill is considered eligible to involve in *merarik* tradition. This phenomenon is not only happening in Sade, but also in Bayan and Ende. As a result, many teenagers had to become widows while having dependents of one, two and three children. In addition, there is a convention in Sade that women should have four children who will in the future hold the four coffin corners of their died parents. The problem is not just about the number of children that a woman should have, but also the fact that a young woman, who is still a teenager and uneducated, has to take care of children in a poor economic condition. Consequently, many marriages ended up with divorce. It is common to see a young and poor divorced woman with many children in Sade. Finally, ignorance and poverty in a systematic and a structured way have been inherited on behalf of local wisdom.



A 14 years-old Sasak Sade woman with her child.

(personal document)

Thirdly, the stage of traditional village forced the Sade people to resist changes. Even if they decided to change, they should make it unnoticed or unrealized by the visitors. I got an awkward feeling when the tour guide always directed the visitors to enter only one traditional house. The guide was very eloquent and knowledgeable about this traditional house, which has a mixture of dirt,

rice husk and buffalo dung, and is regularly mopped when the ground floor has begun to break or is no longer smooth. They also fluently explained that no building is allowed in the Sade area. However, the truth showed that some houses already have cement floors, their own bathrooms, and water reservoirs. In fact, in the corner of Sade village there is a mosque that is quite luxurious, black ceramic floored, and equipped with a seemingly modern bathroom and a *wudu* place.



The 'luxurious' entrance and room of the mosque

(Photograph of Personal Documents)

CONCLUSION

Social and cultural changes share the common aspects: they deal with a way of accepting a new means or improvement by a given society in fulfilling its needs (Soemardjan, 1986). Change is a necessity in response to socio-cultural and political economy developments driven by modernization and globalization. Increased knowledge, because of either education or social interaction, will provide new alternatives for the community in addressing the challenges they face. There is no doubt that modernization and globalization have encouraged every individual and society to redefine their values as to be contextual with the various new challenges they are encountered with. This study found that the three indigenous communities, i.e. Sasak Bayan, Sasak Ende, and Sasak Sade, have currently been in this situation. Changing is necessary in an effort to maintain its existence on one side, and to develop or contextualize their values on the other side. This is what is currently being experienced by the Indigenous Villages of Bayan, Sasak Ende, and Sasak Sade. These three traditional villages have undergoing changes in their own respective ways and for their own interests, each of which should be ready for

the risks that may follow.

The result of this study provides information about the various changes that are taking place in the three traditional villages. The Bayan Village is sought to maintain its purity by bringing imagination about the past to the Bayan Ancient Mosque. With all the rules and sacred stories, the ancient mosque becomes an anchor for the Bayan people's local genius on how they should respond to the changes. However, the introduction of new information, through either education and/or other information media, more or less has influenced them in perceiving their customary rules and values. The Traditional Village of Sasak Ende adapts to changes without having to lose its identity. The available access to electricity in 2004 seemed to wake up the sleeping souls of the Sasak Ende people. Electricity made the Sasak Ende people know television, radio, and gadgets. They also open themselves to access higher education, not only for men, but also for women. In addition, the presence of Sasak Ende, which now becomes one of the tourist destinations, has enabled its inhabitants not only to interact with a wider community, but also to become a learning space to make their cultural treasures support their welfare. The *paresean* show and *merarik* ritual are no longer treated as a mere "sacred" tradition but they are also commoditized as a cultural performance to sustain tourism. Sade is a traditional village that is now encountered with a dilemma: whether they have to change in order to keep pace with modernization, or they have to persist in order to meet the visitors' exotic and imaginative emotions about a traditional village. It would be unfair to blame the Sade people for undertaking reluctant changes; similarly, it would be also unwise to force them not to change.

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